

"An anonymous donor paid \$540 in back rent and court fees yesterday and postponed the evictions of three East Winston tenants.

"The action averted a possible armed confrontation between sheriffs' deputies, who were making the evictions, and Black Panthers, who were posted around the area with loaded guns.

"The money was paid to L. F. REED and Son real estate company about 3 PM yesterday by ROBERT LAW, a staff member of the Experiment in Self-Reliance. LAW would not reveal where the money came from.

"MARK H. FREEMAN, director of the Urban Coalition, said last night that a person had given the money to the coalition, and that the coalition would use it to reimburse the Experiment, which took the money from its emergency fund."

On February 16, 1970, [REDACTED] identified LARRY DONNELL LITTLE as the Minister of Information of the National Committee to Combat Fascism at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which group considers itself to be a Black Panther Party affiliated organization.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] Lieutenant WILLIAM RICE of the BPP group at Winston-Salem, he had determined that earlier that month the Sheriff's Office had evicted a family and the BPP group told the people to go back into the house. It was mentioned that the Panther members had guns and were quoted as saying they would kill anyone who interfered in this situation.

The March 28, 1970, issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, page 2, contained the following article concerning this incident:

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1970 PAGE 2

THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA ARE READY TO DEAL WITH SL UMLORDS.



PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY VS THE SLUMLORDS AND FASCIST PIGS OF WINSTON-SALEM

"We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings." In any city, country or nation, this is one of the most important necessities that one needs to live. But it is as if the Slumlords and Fascist Pigs of Winston-Salem don't know this or that they just don't care about anyone else.

On March 4, 1970, Miss Polly Graham came into the Headquarters of the Winston-Salem Office of the National Committee to Combat Fascism and stated that she had been evicted from her home after the door had been kicked down by fascist pigs and a silly arrogant Slumlord, Miss Graham advised the N.C.C.F. for any type of help or assistance we could give her. After arriving in the community we found out not only

had Miss Graham been evicted but the fools (PIGS) had promised to come back and evict other families of the community. The houses in the Locust Street area are not fit for the Shelter of Human Beings; some of the homes do not have bathtubs, some don't have hot water, windows are broken and some have holes in the walls big enough for pigs to crawl through. The Slumlords have not made any effort to correct any of these deficiencies. If anyone should be paying anything, the people who live in these rat infested houses should be paid for living under such conditions. The people of this community got together with a Brother and Sister of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism and decided that Miss

Graham not anyone else was going to be evicted. Miss Graham's belongings were moved back into the house. The Brother and Sister and people of the community armed and prepared themselves to deal with the pigs and landlords when they returned. When word reached the low-life pigs that we were ready to deal with them in the language they spoke, (through the barrel of a gun) they wouldn't show their faces in the community. The running dogs hid. Afterwards, it was reported that an anonymous donor had paid the rent, and another report said some type of government agency had paid the rent. But regardless of how the rent was paid; the people had taken their stand and they vowed to resist any more evictions and the

re-eviction of Miss Graham. Most of the people also objected to the paying of the rent because they felt like the house was not worth the money that was paid.

Since this incident, the city officials or "City Slickers" have gotten upset over the eviction, as if this was the first time it has happened. Of course everyone knows this is not the first time this type of oppression has taken place. Just last week an elderly lady, Mrs. Minnie Bellamy and her grandchildren were evicted in 'ice cold' weather, and nothing was done about it. Those fools downtown couldn't help know about it because it was publicized for two days all over the city. The real reason why these fools are upset

is because the people of this community have taken a stand against this madness and refuse to let it happen again. So to you "deeply concerned" city officials, Mayor "Mad" Benton, Chief of Pigs "Unjustice" Tucker, your upset days have just begun, because we poor oppressed people of Winston-Salem are going to be dealing with you from here on out. We have the constitutional right to bear arms, and if that's what it takes to deal with you, so let it be.

BLOOD TO THE HORSE'S BROW
AND WOE TO THOSE WHO CAN'T
SHOOT!

N.C.C.F., Winston - Salem
John E. Moore

CE 157-6171

On May 19 1970 [REDACTED]

reported that TERESA THOMAS had purchased approximately \$40 worth of ammunition for shotguns and rifles at a local sporting goods store.

[REDACTED]

CE 157-6171

III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
PROGRAM

On [REDACTED] reported that the day's activities were as follows concerning a Black Panther Party meeting at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

[REDACTED] At approximately 9:00 A. M., the "Liberation Class" had started for new members where they take turns reading parts of the Black Panther Newspaper aloud describing what it means to them. There is an instructor present who appears knowledgeable concerning these matters and assists by clarifying points and is also teaching the Ten-Point Program and the rules of the Black Panther Party. At noon, the group leaves the headquarters and goes out in the streets where they sell papers until 6:00 P. M., thereafter returning to the headquarters where the money and unsold papers are turned in.

On [REDACTED] reported that a Black Panther Party rally had been scheduled for May 3, 1970, at 4:30 P. M., at the Tower of Power, 15th and English Streets, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was scheduled that the film "Off the Pig" would be shown; and speakers were to include "SLACK" THOMAS, Minister of Finance; NELSON WALLO, Field Lieutenant; and BILL RICE, also a Lieutenant.

On May 4, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that the rally held Sunday, May 3, 1970, started with the record called "Seize the Time" and a record called "Assassination." LARRY LITTLE was the Master of Ceremonies, and all speeches were the normal BPP speeches with the guest speaker referred to as DARUBA.

[REDACTED] tape recording of portions of this meeting, a review of which indicates that LARRY LITTLE identified himself as Lieutenant of Information for the local "Political Bureau" of the BPP, stating the rally was in support of "our chairman," BOBBY SEALE. LARRY LITTLE was critical of the mass media stating that people should throw down the pen and take up the sword. He was critical of the United States court system as it did not function for black people and "avaricious businessmen" for not contributing to the Breakfast Program of the BPP. WILLIAM RICE was critical of the United States Government stating, "Everyone knows that laws are made of the pigs, by the pigs, and for the pigs."

The main speaker, "DARUBA," stated, "We're going to see that the Black Panther Party's position is very clear. We oppose pork chop nationalism, dashiki liberation. We oppose that because a dashiki can't stop a 357 from one of these racist state troopers. Afros, afros, won't keep our door closed when the pigs decided to kick it in. Only sand bags and fortification will and some guns to back that up."

"And if every black man puts a gun in his home and has got sand bags in his house and takes the sand bags and dyes the sand bags in beautiful colors, and make it homely and make it look good. Make it a home. That's a desirable condition, that's a desirable condition because they're some black people, a family is in the house and these mad dogs that occupy our community decide to come in and shoot up the neighborhood, we'll have a little protection and our family might live. And that's desirable. And the sand bags are functional, and we can even identify them and paint flowers on them if you want to.

"So, there's a lot of niggers here who live in houses anyway instead of apartments, and sand bags are holding them up. So, that's a desirable condition and that's the way of survival of our people because we have brothers here who are going to set that example for you and show you how you can do that."

On [REDACTED] at the new headquarters of the Winston-Salem group at 1602 East 14th Street, discussion was held and consideration given to sending two or three more people out to California. This was believed to be for training; however, this was not specifically stated. It was also learned that LARRY LITTLE had traveled to California around May 10, 1970, the reason not given.

CE 157-6171

IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

CE 157-6171

The March 28, 1970, issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, page 13, contained an article captioned "To The People of North Carolina," which follows:

TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA



A study of history will show that one of the major obstacles that oppressed people have had to deal with in their just struggle for freedom has been the oppressive power structure. This liberation struggle in the Black Colony proves to be no exception. A Rent-a-Nigger organization called the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party has emerged in Greensboro, N.C. under the disguise of trying to solve the drug problem in Greensboro. The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism can relate to anybody trying to get drugs out of the community because we understand that drugs along with the Mass Media are part and parcel of the apparatus of oppression that the people are up against. But we also say that "social practice is the criterion of the truth." So we're going to judge these niggers through their social practice to determine if they are true ser-

vants of the people or whether they're just another Rent-a-Nigger organization that the oppressive power structure is using to infiltrate the revolution in an attempt to lead the people's struggle astray.

The chairman of this organization is Jose Gonzalez, an agent provocateur from the New Haven Branch of the Black Panther Party. This is the same nigger that so mysteriously split from the Party right before the frame-up of the Connecticut "8." While in the Black Panther Party this nigger's social practice proved that he was nothing more than an egotistical fool, always greedy for recognition, he even stole clothes and watches from the comrades in the Party. This nigger has been seen in other areas of the states selling .32, suicide pop guns to little brothers who don't know any better.

Before this Jack-a-nape Gonzalez and his fellow lackey, Brad Belcher (who's listed as the Minister of Defense), started their own Rent-a-Nigger organization they were going around instilling the people in North Carolina by telling them that they were Field Marshals of the Black Panther Party and that they were sent into the North Carolina area to organize. At this time these same niggers along with a few more bootlickin niggers are going around wearing Black Leather jackets, Berets and Party buttons telling people that their Rent-a-Nigger organization is affiliated with the Black Panther Party which is a lie. The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (which is a political Bureau of the Black Panther Party) is the only organization in the State of North Carolina that is affiliated with the Black Panther Party.

People of North Carolina and throughout America BEWARE of these niggers who call themselves revolutionaries and who use super-revolutionary slogans but through their social practice can be discovered to be either opportunistic niggers who are just greedily trying to get on the Band Wagon because they think it's the popular trend OR The Lowest of Low-lift Pigs these bootlicking niggers who are trying to infiltrate the people's righteous struggle in an attempt to prolong and maintain their MASTERS oppression over their own people.

SEIZE THE TIME
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Central Staff
National Committee to Combat
Fascism, Winston-Salem

CE 157-6171

V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

CE 157-6171

Copies of the February 21, February 28, March 21, and March 28, 1970, issues of the Black Panther Newspaper were obtained by SA [REDACTED] as they were being sold on the streets of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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105-165706-8-204 pages 21-23

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

March 16, 1970

Date _____

[REDACTED] advised LARRY LITTLE of the Black Panther group in Winston-Salem had picked up four boxes of newspapers that Monday. [REDACTED]

24

On 3/9/70 at Winston-Salem, North Carolina File # Charlotte 157-6171

by SA [REDACTED] Date dictated 3/10/70

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105-165706-8-204 page 25

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 4/7/70

1

A copy of "The Black Panther" newspaper was purchased on the street in front of 1210 East 5th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, from an unknown Negro female. This copy was dated March 28, 1970.

26

On 3/31/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-6171

by SA [REDACTED] sjw Date dictated 4/1/70

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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105-165706-8-204 pages 27-28

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CE 157-6171

On May 11, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Lieutenant of Information of the BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, departed Winston-Salem by plane at 2:00 P. M., May 10, 1970, en route to San Francisco, California, with subsequent destination allegedly Berkeley, California. LARRY D. LITTLE LARRY LITTLE

On May 14, 1970, SF T-16 reported that LARRY LITTLE of the National Committee to Combat Fascism chapter, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had traveled to Berkeley, California, to the BPP National Headquarters, however, was returning soon to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and would take with him a number of copies of the Black Panther Newspaper dated May 19, 1970.

The Black Panther, official newspaper of the BPP, Volume 4, Number 22, page 10, dated Saturday, May 9, 1970, contained a "Black Panther Party List of All Recognized Chapters, Branches and N.C.C.F.S."

Included in this list was:

Winston Salem
1225 E 18th Street #5
Winston Salem,
North Carolina
(919) 725-7026
R. T. Greer

ROBERT TAYLOR GREER has been publicly identified as the Area Captain of the BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. According to [REDACTED] GREER did reside at 1225 East 18th Street, Apartment Number 5, but now resides at 1050 North Cleveland Avenue, Apartment N.

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
May 28, 1970

Title **BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**

Character **RACIAL MATTER; SMITH ACT OF 1940;
 SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND**
Reference **INSURRECTION**

**Report of Special Agent THOMAS H. GEORGE
at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and
captioned as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 6/2/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

(BLACK PANTHER PARTY
TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP
RM - BPP

Re WFO teletype to the Director dated 5/25/70.

Contact with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] failed to develop any information concerning a National Committee to Combat Fascism Rally being held anywhere in the Winston-Salem area on or about 5/25/70. Contact with these individuals during that week and on 5/28/70 has failed to develop information concerning a rally in the Winston-Salem area or the presence of DON (LNU) or COULSTON, or HOWARD CLAYTON MOORE in the Winston-Salem area.

LEADS:NEW YORKAT NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

Provide any available information concerning the travel of DON (LNU) or COULSTON (PHONETIC).

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Richmond (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte

DBM:dmw
(10)

REC-911

105-165706-8-203

5 JUN 3 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.

66 JUN 16 1970
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6171 (Priority)RICHMONDAT RICHMOND, VA.

Provide any available information concerning the
travel of HOWARD CLAYTON MOORE.

WFOAT WASHINGTON, D. C.

[REDACTED] for any further available
information concerning rally at Winston-Salem, N. C., 5/25/70.

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Date: 5/27/70

the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)(Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM-BPP

██████████ (SF T-22), a highly confidential source, advised as follows on May 25, 1970.

██████████ San Francisco, California, contacted ██████████ of the NCCF Chapter in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at telephone ██████████ in Winston-Salem. ██████████ wanted to know if ██████████ knew an individual by the name of STEVE GREEN in his area and ██████████ informed him that he did not.

██████████ then informed ██████████ that the Chapter in Winston-Salem is two weeks behind on payments of the papers and he indicated that they had had some thefts lately and had to get rid of some people as a result.

██████████ informed ██████████ that DOUG MIRANDA was now in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It is noted that DOUG MIRANDA was recently transferred purportedly for disciplinary reasons from New Haven, Connecticut, where he had been functioning in connection with BPP activities.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 4 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
 - (1 - ██████████)
 - (1 - ██████████)
- 2 - New Orleans (100-10992)(RM)
 - (1 - ██████████)
- 2 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 157-2861)
 - (1 - 157-4065)(New Orleans)

JAC/krh
(10)

REC-4

Sent _____ M Per _____

Approved: 142
66 JUN 12 1970
Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861
JAC/krh

The individual referred to by [REDACTED] as STEVE GREEN may be identical to an individual by the name of [REDACTED] of New Orleans, Louisiana, who was in contact with the San Francisco Chapter of the BPP on May 22, 1970, in regards to the formation of a BPP in New Orleans, Louisiana.

It is felt that [REDACTED] recalls the name and is undoubtedly somewhat confused in his United States geography.

Charlotte should specifically attempt to determine the extent of [REDACTED] activities in that area to ascertain whether he assumes charge of the Winston-Salem NCCF Chapter only, or whether he functions in a larger capacity in the Southeastern United States in connection with his present assignment in that area.

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: MAY 22 1970

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

- ② - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 2 - SF
 - 1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
 - 1- BLACK PANTHER PARTY - EDUCATION & TRAINING SF (157-2592)

#2 1:12p wbf ic

MAY 22 1970

[REDACTED] to UNW. [REDACTED] is calling from Winston Salem and wants to know if they are sending him the tapes on Communal living by HUEY (NEWTON). UNW does not know. He wants to talk with DAVID (HILLIARD) and UNW tells him that DH is out of town.

REC-84

105-165706-8-201

JUN 2 1970

JUN 2 1970

(5cc)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 1 1970

TELETYPE

NR006 CE PLAINTEXT

450 PM URGENT 6-1-70 ABP

TO: DIRECTOR AND NEW HAVEN

FROM: CHARLOTTE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM, BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE -
ONE SIX FIVE SEVEN ZERO SIX SUB EIGHT, NEW HAVEN FILE ONE
HUNDRED - ONE NINE ONE EIGHT SIX, CHARLOTTE FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN
- SIX ONE SEVEN ONE.

[REDACTED], RM, - BPP, BUFILE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW HAVEN FILE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CHARLOTTE FILE [REDACTED]

SPLIT HAS OCCURRED IN BPP GROUP AT WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
FORMER AREA CAPTAIN ROBERT TAYLOR GREER IS NOW OUT ALONG WITH
INDIVIDUALS LOYAL TO HIM. [REDACTED] THERE ARE
ABOUT SIX MEMBERS LEFT AT WINSTON-SALEM ALONG WITH TWO OR
THREE "FLEDGING" PANTHERS LOYAL TO LARRY LITTLE AND BILL
RICE.

Classified by 4838
Exempt from GDS, Category II
Date of Declassification Indefinite
END PAGE ONE 1/15/75

REC-2

105-165706-8-199

COPY SENT

IDIU

JUN 5 1970

58 JUN 3 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-165706-8-199

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WINSTON-SALEM, DETERMINED DOUGLAS MIRANDA WILL NOT
BE AVAILABLE UNTIL JUNE TWO SEVENTY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE DIRECTOR AIRTEL MAY TWO SEVENTY CAPTIONED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RM - BPP."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NEW HAVEN PER INSTRUCTIONS OF REFERENCED AIRTEL,
[REDACTED] IF LOCATED YOUR AREA. IF NOT, FURNISH
BACKGROUND DATA TO CHARLOTTE, AT WHICH TIME CHARLOTTE WILL
[REDACTED]

END.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

DATE: MAY 28 1970

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336½

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

4/24/70.

[REDACTED] TO UNK. WOMAN. [REDACTED] is calling from Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Wants [REDACTED] says we want film. "Off the Pigs". [REDACTED] was going to ship it to them. [REDACTED] says send it for we haven't seen any of them. [REDACTED] says no charge but freight charges. [REDACTED] says air bill 151 7530 Delta Air Lines Flight #124.

REC-23

105-165706-8-198

JUN 3 1970

RACIAL INT. (SF)

(56) JUN 10 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 5/27/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P) [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 5/5/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of LHM re captioned matter. Copies have been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

Also enclosed are three copies each for the New York and San Francisco Divisions; two copies for the New Haven Division; and one copy each for the Atlanta, Baltimore and Los Angeles Divisions.

- ENCLOSURE 105-165706-8-197
- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
1 - Baltimore (Enc. 1) (Info) (157-3241) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (Info) (157-1503) (RM)
2 - New Haven (Encs. 2) (Info) (100-1918) (RM)
3 - New York (Encs. 3) (100-161993) (RM)
 (1 - Black Panther Party)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
3 - San Francisco (2 - 157-2375) (Encs. 3) (RM)
 (1 - 157-1485)
6 - Charlotte
 (2 - 157-6171 BPP)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])
 (1 - [REDACTED])

4 MAY 29 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

AGENCY: ACSI, GPH, OSI, SEC. SER.
DEPT. ISD: CRD
DATE FORW: JUN 3 1970

HOW FORW: 1 cc detached by [REDACTED]

Approved: [REDACTED] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Investigation at Winston-Salem, North Carolina was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

The copy of the recording is being maintained as an exhibit in the Charlotte Office. If the Bureau or any office receiving this communication so desires, a copy can be made and furnished.

LEAD:

CHARLOTTE

AT CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Will continue to follow and report pertinent developments within the Black Panther Party in the Charlotte Division.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
May 27, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM,
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina dated May 5, 1970, captioned as above.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.



The following is a transcript of the tape recording



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OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
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YOUR AGENCY.

1 - 11 - 1:7
ENCLOSURE

The following comments were made by LARRY LITTLE:

"I'm Larry Little and I'm the Lieutenant of Information for the local political bureau of the Black Panther Party and we're having this rally in support of our chairman, BOBBY SEALE, who is now facing the electric chair, who is now being tried and I say this trial don't amount to nothing but a tactiment (phonetic) form of racism. In the state of Connecticut, if Brother BOBBY SEALE is convicted, he can be sent to the electric chair. So, we'd like for everyone to keep that in mind. You know, 28, 29 Panthers as of today have been murdered.

"The album that you have been listening to is called 'Seeds of Time' by the Black Panther Party. 'Seeds of Time' by ELAINE BROWN, the Deputy Minister of Information for the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party. The song, this album is nothing more than it articulates the feelings of the Black Panther Party and the song that you're going to hear right now, that we would like for you all to listen very carefully to, because the brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party step forward trying to help black people in gaining their emancipation. And as I said 29 Panthers have been murdered by the American government. There's no distinction between the Pig Department because they are lackeys of this United States Government.

"So, the record that we're going to play at this particular time is called 'Assassination' and we would like for you to pay careful attention to it because I know it's one of my favorites and I wish you could really get down deep with this. The sister is talking about two Panthers who were murdered. And our Alprentice, BUNCHY CARTER (phonetic) and JOHN JEROME HUGGINS (phonetic) on the UCLA campus. These brothers were the Deputy Minister of Defense and the Deputy Minister of Information from the LA Chapter of the Black Panther Party. They were killed by two nigger United States agents from the US organization, which is headed by an agent for the United States Government called, his name is RON KARENGA, but these brothers were shot down in the back.

"And we want to play this song, and this is in memory of all Panthers, all black people, all poor oppressed people, who died in the struggle. There still has to be a struggle for complete emancipation.

"And now, we're trying to get the album down here. The album, it is not fancy. It is put out by Vote (phonetic) Record Company and has a lot of beautiful songs on it. I think that you really have to be completely in the struggle to understand what this sister is coming from. She has a beautiful voice.

"You know, you don't know how long we're going to be on the set because this American Government is moving into open Fascism. You got to understand that they aren't just attacking Chairman BOBBY SEALE in Connecticut. They're attacking black people period. And see, that's what you got to understand. RALPH ABERNATHY, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that the government is now dealing with the Black Panther Party and pretty soon they'll be dealing with SCLC and the NAACP. Anyone who's in opposition to the way this power structure is treating our people and who acts in a revolutionary manner. The power structure is going to try to deal with them. The power structure is going to try to deal with them. And you better understand that. You had better understand, that times we get up about 6 o'clock in the morning, at least 7 o'clock, I don't know what's going down, but it seems like we're always called away, you know, on an emergency or something of some kind.

"I may have to reach one of the brethren, you know, some kind of emergency is coming up. You know, I'm going to have to leave.

"But getting back to what I said before, you get up, you know, 6 o'clock in the morning, feeding little children in the black community if we possibly can, free breakfast every morning. This is not, we're not concerned about just trying to show off or trying to get any glory for this. We just simply know that these children have to be fed and so we're moving to feed them by any means necessary. This next song, I know you're sort of tired of songs. You say well I didn't come here for all of that. Let me tell you. You ought to come here for it sometimes. You can

go to these rock and roll shows and go to all this other shit and stand around for four or five hours and talk about we want more. So you ought to stay here all the damn day.

"You got Panthers, you got brothers who are out here courageously and you've got sisters out here courageously trying to fight for your damn freedom out here, for all of our freedom. So we're going to have to start supporting black people who are moving. So, if you have to stay here to 12 o'clock, well damn it, you spend 357 other days jiving around, so you should be willing to stay here until 12 o'clock tonight. We have a schedule planned tonight. We had to schedule the thing and just to let you know when it is going down, our Assistant Chief of Staff, Brother June Hilliard (phonetic) and Brother Fred Bennett (phonetic) from California is supposed to be getting down. They won't make it. However, we have a replacement for the program. We have taken Brother Darruba who has just been released from prison from the New York 21. And we expect him to come here any minute now. He has got his plane out of New York. And we expect Brother Darruba from the New York 21 to be coming down here to talk to the people and in addition to our speaker, we have our allowance for today.

"And you got to start moving. You got to intensify the struggle. And I want you to know how we feel sometimes when we are out here every day trying to serve you. Trying to help and do whatever we can to change unjust conditions that exist in this country politically, economically, and socially. So this next song is called 'The Panther.' It's called 'The Panther' and so we want you to dig on it, we want you to dig on it.

"Other than those who are affiliated with the Black Panther Party, I'd like to know who really knows what the song is about? They tell me, you know, I'm unpredictable at times that they don't know what I'm going to say when I get up here. And I won't be knowing it myself. That's why I don't bother to write any speeches any more. I'm not going to get to that.

"Now what she is trying to say is that we're out here, the Black Panther Party is out here each and every day and we're trying to talk to you. We're trying to tell you about the unjust conditions that exist in this country. And you seem to look like

we're talking a foreign language, you know, to you. This country is moving, and you ought to pay close attention to this, this country is moving in a manner and fashions that are very reminiscent to the way Nazi Germany moved under Adolph Hitler. This country exterminated red people, the Indian. They've slaughtered over fifty million black people in this country, not when they were slaves, well _____ (unintelligible), because we're still slaves today. They're trying to make you think that they've set you free by calling you a second class citizen. But they never referred to people nowhere else in the world as second class citizens. You're either free or you're a slave. So you're nothing but twentieth century slaves and don't be trying to tell me no shit about you're a second class citizen. You're a twentieth century slave.

"So we're trying to tell you this. We can't make it under the system we're living under. You make \$5 an hour on you gin today and let them go up to \$5.50 an hour. You watch and see your rent go up. You watch your laundry go up. You watch and see your gas go up. Everything is going to go up and you still haven't made a damn thing.

"You figure if you can get your education you can make it. You can take your wife to places in society. Well, where is a nigger's place in a racist, decadent, Fascist, American society? The only people who are making it today are people who are nothing but bootlickers and lackeys of these pigs. Those are the ones who are trying to make it. So, we're saying to those who are making it, all these Uncle Toms, that we are taking up money right now, as bad as we need the money. We're taking up money right now at least we got a start this day, I started with something. They are taking up money for all bootlickers and Uncle Toms, and we're going to get you a one-way ticket to Florida or North to South Carolina. A one-way ticket to South Carolina. All you Uncle Toms, we want you to know now, we're getting you a one-way ticket to all jive-time brothers who are pushing this dope and shit into the black community. All the mother-fuckers who are putting that shit in the community, we're giving you a one-way ticket too. We're going to start giving you a one-way ticket too. We're giving you a ticket to South Carolina, a one-way ticket.

If you, if you accept the one-way ticket to South Carolina, you'll be safe. We can guarantee your safety. But if you don't accept we can't guarantee you a damn thing.

"At this time now, our chairman, BOBBY SEALE, used to be an actor, you probably know this. But Marlon Brando started supporting the Black Panther Party because he knew our Chairman BOBBY SEALE because BOBBY used to be an actor and a comedian. BOBBY was going to Meredith (phonetic) College along with our Minister of Defense, that was Brother HUEY P. NEWTON. They were going to Meredith (phonetic) College and they just left Meredith (phonetic) College because the education that they were getting, the same as education in all these institutions, don't tell me about you're going to a black school. There's no such damn thing because the education is being dictated by the minority ruling class. Now you better believe it.

"That's where it's coming from. History is of pig, by pig and for pig.

"At Yale University I understand that about 80 per cent of the student body voted, told the university down in support of the Black Panther Party and the struggle and the movement to have Chairman BOBBY SEALE set free. And Yale is probably the leading university in this country. Along with Yale and Columbia, Harvard and Berkeley.

"Now you look at these black institutions. Let's just take Winston-Salem State right here. The niggers are so trained over there they can't even come out to a rally and support Chairman BOBBY SEALE. Them niggers are so trained. It's so far, they've got them in such a bag over there, and I was over there the first part of the year but I had to leave because that shit was sort of out of harmony with the way my mind was functioning. All that needs to be done over at Winston-Salem State is for the pigs down at the pig pen, Mayor Benton, to pick up his phone and say operator, get me the plantation. The operator says something like which plantation? Plantation Number One, that's what BENTON would say. Well who you want to speak to? Give me House nigger Williams, that's the first one he's going to call for. And then when he talks to Williams, now last year look at all the institutions all

over the country that have been rebelling. Winston-Salem State was rebelling last year for what? Lab machines and shit like this. Lab machines _____ (rest of sentence unintelligible).

"So Mayor BENTON calls WILLIAMS up over there, Mayor BENTON calls WILLIAMS up over there and said, Mayor BENTON said, dig on this, look here Tom, Tom you ain't doing your job. You got to pacify those niggers over there. My boss, they ain't asking for nothing but just labs, and if you get some labs and stuff they'll be quiet. And so Pig BENTON starts oinking, oink, oink oink, you know. Started saying that you know, _____ (unintelligible). This is how ridiculous it is over there. This is how ridiculous it is over there. You got niggers walking around today, you know, trying to be cool, you know (rest of sentence unintelligible). And don't even have a political education, nothing but electronic niggers walking around here. That's all we have around here, electronic niggers.

"I was invited by the students from Atkins High School and R. J. Reynolds High School to speak there and the students were all for it. It got back to the principal, Principal DEATON (phonetic), and I think it was HOBSON, HOBSON (phonetic). They didn't want us over there. We got over there anyway, for a teacher sneaked us in some kind of way and we spoke to about three classes over there. And the students could really dig where we were coming from. But it was sad though, it's sad the way they're getting trained in schools.

"So you're talking about busing, you integration-mad niggers. You're talking about busing. Well I don't think the most important thing is where your child goes to school or who he goes to town with. I think the most important thing is what's being taught. And see that's what you got to start, that's the way you got to start thinking. I don't mind going to school with anyone. I don't mind, I don't care what color they are. But you got to start believing and knowing that what's being taught is the most important thing.

"Looking back at this last election, a lot of people want to know why we didn't come out and endorse any candidates. I want to tell you about them. I saw about one or two that were running the program that I consider to be halfway workful to the way of revolutionaries. The rest of it was nothing but racial pig asses. That's right. And like I say, I don't care whose auditorium it is. I don't care. So if you voted yesterday, you shouldn't. Yeah, you got brother LUCAS and brother MC MANUS, somebody else, I forgot his name, who you might could have voted for. But the big thing that you ought to pay attention to is the way your so-called leaders in the city, the way these Uncle Tom leaders sold black people down the river to that pig called SHIPLEY (phonetic). Now that's what you ought to pay attention to. The ones that you consider to be your leaders, those are the ones that sold you out. And what is he doing, promoting the establishment. Those are the ones who you ought to deal with. Some of your ministers, the ones that you go to church to every Sunday to hear talk that shit, those ones who are inviting that pig to church.

"And so if you can understand where I'm coming from, you'll know why they're trying to get us off the set. Because they don't want crazy niggers like me up here talking.

"All right, the next song, what time do you have brother? I just had to fill in a few words to hold a little time until Brother DARRUBA gets here. On our film, we'll probably show a film, we have made contact over two weeks ago to have the film 'The Pigs' shown at this rally. The film was sent out for our national distribution last night about 10 o'clock, wasn't that right? That was supposed to have got here at 5 o'clock this morning. We went up there and tried to get our film and those mother-fuckers in the airport, those aeronautical fools won't let us have our film. And that's what's going on. The brothers called us, gave us the flight number and everything on the film. And it was supposed to be here. It should have been here at 5 o'clock. I guess they don't want us looking at them. They don't want you looking at the film. Because it's something else than the shit that you see on television every day. So I guess that Pig BENTON, Mayor

Funt Benton and Justus Pig, Dog Tucker, I guess they're looking at them right now. I guess all dogs are looking at our film because I know damn sure the thing was supposed to have been here. At 5 o'clock this morning, it was supposed to have been here at 5 o'clock this morning. We got called and _____ (unintelligible) at 5 o'clock this morning. And we got up there and you ought to all put pressure on them. Start calling the airport.

"When we get ready to sell our papers, sometimes it's supposed to get in on Friday evening. We might not see it until that Thursday and the paper is over a week old. And we can't sell a whole lot of old papers to the people. We have been doing it, but we're trying to apologize to the people. It's simply _____ (unintelligible). In the future we're going to put out a local newspaper here. We're going to be exposing this decadent American society and we're also going to expose these Uncle Toms around here because our national newspaper, we don't know how much longer we'll be able to get it from California. Because the government is trying to sabotage the black press, the same as they've always done. We don't know whether, we expect it. We don't know when we're going to get the newspapers from here on out. We don't know when RICHARD NIXON is going to give the word to stop those Panther newspapers from being published. So we're in the midst of trying to combat that by putting out a local newspaper and I guess then they'll still, I guess then on that number, they'll try to murder us all and what will you be doing? Will they were some brave brothers but they're dead now.

"See, a lot of people say why do you get on the people's country to rally. It's simply because that a lot of them are just here to signify. They don't know a damn thing. They relate out here. You're out here a couple of yours, you talk about the rally and what do you do when you go the other seven or six days? What do you do? Going out here fighting against your people. That's all you're doing. And so they come out here to see because the Panthers are some bad niggers and you can show people that you are not the kind. But it is all of you all, all of yourselves, inside,

speaking out every time they railroad a brother, railroad a brother, then all of you all are simply giving a silent vote. You're giving a silent vote. You're letting NIXON murder Panthers in the name of the silent majority. So we're saying you're part of the solution or you're part of the problem.

"I looked out, you know I looked out here to see what the mass media is. I think we have a few here. I want a message, I want to give a message to you, from Brother Eldridge Cleaver. Brother Eldridge Cleaver says that you are some very intelligent people and you know what you're doing and you're writing these articles in the paper. But see, we look at the mass media, the newspapermen, as being nothing but lackeys for the government. The news media we believe is government-controlled. So Brother Eldridge says, I believe Stalin said, Joseph Stalin said that the _____ (unintelligible) of criticism will never equal the criticism of _____ (unintelligible). These pigs in the mass media, when you hear about BOBBY SEALE, they say he is being held for the alleged murder of a Panther member, Brother ALEX RACKLEY (phonetic). Brother ALEX RACKLEY (phonetic) was a beautiful member of the Black Panther Party, a functioning brother. And he was killed by the government, and their chief witness, who is a nigger, and just believe that they'll buy niggers off cheaper by the dozen today. And you still as Masi said, looking at a mod squad with that Pig Clarence Williams mod squad nigger. They're toughing up brothers and sisters today. The mass media doesn't come out and say that Chairman BOBBY SEALE, I mean that ALEX RACKLEY (phonetic) was a beautiful brother of the Black Panther Party. The free breakfast program has been named after brother ALEX RACKLEY. I never heard the mass media say this. So I think you know what you're doing, too.

"So when you start, Eldridge also said that information is the raw material for new ideas. If people continue to get misinformation then they're going to have some brand new fucked up ideas, fucked up ideas. So, the mass media has criticized enough in words, that the pen should be mightier than the sword, but it's not. We say throw down that pen and take up the sword. So the only way that we can deal with the mass media is when they start disseminating this kind of information for the national _____ (unintelligible) I think you'll agree to that won't you? Say right on to that.

"Like I say, you ought to check by the headquarters as soon as possible. We don't have the _____ (unintelligible) keeping BOBBY SEALE from going to the electric chair. It should have been sold, it should have been, the place should have been packed. People should have been all in the aisles. People should have been trying to get a seat. That's the way it should be. Now let me tell you, we don't have any funds and we're going to need some funds to continue the struggle. Like, you know, one of our brothers yesterday was, pig MATTHEWS, the leader of pigs in the Pig Department, arrested one of our brothers, just took him down, you know, and he was downtown selling newspapers. You see, they didn't convict him, but see, we did have to get an attorney because, I mean (unintelligible). There's no justice for black people in the courts anyway. Because the courts are not functioning for black people anyway.

"So we did have to pay an attorney, and so that's what they're trying to do. They're just trying to snatch us up off on jive-time charges to just, you know, get the little money that we do have. The only money that we really get is from selling our newspapers and every once in a while, I mean sometimes during the month, some beautiful person from the community will come and make a donation. So, when you start, think about it when you go down here to buy some of these downtown records, that really I'm going to get you the freedom, why don't you drop by and contribute that to the breakfast program. Because right now these avaricious businessmen, they're not contributing to the breakfast program the way they should. So, we going to move on them on a higher level also.

"And I guess you know what we're talking about. And if you aren't ready to start talking like this, then all I can say is for you to just stay in the house, lay up under the bed, and pray. Try to hide up under your bed and pray. For the brothers who are going out here to make these pigs pay the price. They're making a profit off black people from the black community. Therefore, they ought to turn over some of that money to such a worthy program like the children's breakfast program. That's what they need to do.

"And so we're going to have to start dealing with them, but we need your cooperation also, because our party, the Black Panther Party, is not a party for itself. It is a party for the people. We consider ourselves as nothing but people's servants. We don't consider ourselves as going all out, you know, just putting our lives on the line. We're really, this is our duty to do this. It's our duty to do this. And you better believe it's our duty. So when we start talking about ways of struggle and time, it's time to really be a public servant, let's start talking about I'm a _____ (unintelligible). We're out here every day trying to bring people to their consciousness to what's going on. We're just warning, if you don't have your shit uptight then don't have your shit together, you stay away. Don't come around trying to talk this stuff to me or any other person who is a hard-working servant of the people, in a nice community trying to tell us how you believe in this. We say theory is cool, but theory without practice ain't shit. So when you come to me trying to talk that stuff, don't . . .

(The tape skips here for a few seconds and the LITTLE's speech goes on as follows.)

"Recognize it and see slavery out of a social system that is really killing us. Panthers (phonetic) is called revolution and you think of it now when you start calling yourself a revolutionary. It's Spiro Agnew, it's Spiro Agnew. It's Mayor Pig Benton. It's Mayor Pig Justus Tucker. It is anybody who is standing in the way of our damn freedom, because we'll get our damn freedom by any damn means necessary.

"You aren't ready for that. No, you aren't ready for that. I don't know, I told you I was going to talk, I told you when I was taking over the rally. And I told you I didn't know what I was going to say when I got up here. So, next you're just going to have to make me a speaker because you should have let me be the emcee. That's what I was supposed to have been, the emcee.

"Now I get carried away. I say you're party. You aren't ready for those songs. JAMES BROWN can get us that. He's talking black and proud and having black people work in his restaurant,

the _____ (unintelligible) restaurant, for
 \$1.25 an hour. So deal with him. Deal with him. I can dig the
 music, I can dig the beat because I'm a nigger. But I'm saying
 this, that it's about time to start dealing for your freedom. And
 you ain't going to get no freedom by talking about let a man come
 in and do the Pop Corn. You better believe that.

"So, that's it for me. We're going to bring on our
 next speaker. And by this time I hope Brother DARRUBA gets here.
 (Next sentence unintelligible).

"Our next speaker, a sister in the party, a sister in
 the national committee here. I have great, I have respect for this
 sister because I remember one time when she first showed up at our
 headquarters talking about she wanted to be politically educated.
 I mean, I thought the woman was just going to come there for a couple
 of days and then just slip away as CLARENCE CARTER (phonetic) said.
 But she stayed on in there. She's come a long way. This sister
 is now holding the position of Minister of Finance and this sister
 is our first speaker, is sister SLACK THOMAS (phonetic). I don't
 need to say anything else sister. Come on and talk to the people."

(The following speech was made by SLACK THOMAS.)

"All power to the people. (The people repeat this
 statement.) You don't act like you mean it. All power to the
 people! (The people repeat this again.) Right on.

"I don't think that very much more needs to be said.
 Brother LARRY has covered quite a variety of things and it leaves
 the others of us up here, you know, hanging out on a limb. But
 I hope you dug on it and I hope you take some of this in stride,
 and start thinking about it, man, because we don't have much
 time out here. The man's not going to let us be on the scene
 much longer. So you better dig on where he's coming from.

"I have something written out . . . (next few words unintelligible). I don't know what to say. But first of all I want to talk to you a little bit about the way that the government has used the press to deleviate (phonetic) the people's minds against the real truth of various situations. And if some of you niggers aren't careful, you're going to get caught in this thing, running around here hating yourself and loving the man, while at the same time you're catching hell from that man on your job and in the street and everywhere else. You let that man maneuver you into thinking it's wrong to fight him, while he's fighting you. That man's fighting you while you're sitting at home sleeping, while you're at home drinking with _____ (nintelligible), and your man is away from what's really happening to you, and that man is sitting there plotting out a scheme to get rid of all you niggers. To put all you niggers in concentration camps out here somewhere.

"And you're sitting around here on your five-time _____ wear your mini dresses and go down to _____ (unintelligible) and think you got it made man, but you got to wake up. Because when the shit comes down (rest is unintelligible.)"

(The following introductory comments were made by LARRY LITTLE.)

"We're going to have our last speaker from Winston-Salem, I say the Winston-Salem section of Babylon. You know it's no different, no difference. It's no difference between the North and the South. And the North can kill you with a Northern accent and the South could kill you with a Southern accent. So that's the only difference. They oppress you in a Northern-like manner and the South oppresses you the same damn way. So, the next speaker is brother, lieutenant of our national committee here, one who had to come through a lot of thick and thin and realized he had to be a people's servant. I don't know what I would say about the brother, a member of our Central Staff here. Here Lieutenant, Brother Bill Rice."

(The following comments were made by BILL RICE.)

"All power to the people. (The people repeat this.)

"I don't know what to say. I was getting rather nervous when the brother was rapping about me. The last time I spoke some people came to me to say that LARRY used a lot of vulgar language as you call it, a lot of bad words, so I promised myself and my other comrades and I think I'm in a position to say fuck that, fuck that.

"Like the brother has already stated 29 Panthers has already been murdered, got brothers and sisters in jail. We're still not free, so there's not much to talk about. It's time for some action. The Fascist government has been waging a tax on the Black Panther Party from the very first beginning of the party's existence. I'm quite sure by now everybody knows who laws are made for. Everyone knows that laws are made of the pigs, by the pigs, and for the pigs.

"We say that social practice is the criteria for the truth. We have a lot of people today running around with their own little ideas. We have a lot of theoreticians telling about practices that ain't worth a fuck. You got to put your shit into social practice.

"The Fascist government is already railroad our Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, who is now in jail. And now they're trying to railroad our chairman, BOBBY SEALE, in the electric chair of the state of Connecticut. The Fascist government released the political police of the FBI and thrown away all pretenses of justice and equality under the law. This says that the Constitution of the United States has been replaced by out-right Fascist terror and open oppression. Fascist NIXON, AGNEW, the MITCHELL regime, has planned to murder chairman BOBBY SEALE. This pre-planned murder is nothing but an attempt of genocide against black people. The Black Panther Party teaches that society is divided into classes, but we will not take class to the extent that it will be suicide for black people. Those white people who call themselves our friends will be tested by our social practices. Those whites who wish to carry on the class struggle will have to start " king commitments to the destruction of this decadent society. (next sentence unintelligible.)

"We do not intend to see our chairman nor any other brother and sister stay in jail for the rest of their lives. You know the American people, the American people are very corrupt. They are very deeply imbued with this greedy dog-eat-dog philosophy. They don't give a damn about other people. They don't even give a damn about each other. And as long as this Fascist government is able to provide enough jobs, as long as the government is able to cop-up the economy by manufacturing raw materials, as long as the government is able to keep the checks coming in to our people, then we find it very hard to deal with the people.

"As the brother already stated, the Fascist pigs are coming into the communities, rapping on the people. They rap on one brother, they rap on all brothers and sisters. The Fascist pig must withdraw from the black communities, or face the wrath of our people. It's just like that. It's time to decide whether you're going to be a friend of RICHARD NIXON or whether you're going to be a friend of BOBBY SEALE.

"There's no middle of the road. You can't stand in the middle of the road. You're either part of the problem or part of the solution. And we say we would much rather be a part of the solution than any part of the problem. My reaction to the railroading of Chairman BOBBY, to the taking this beautiful revolutionary brother off the streets of Babylon, my reaction should be just like any other brother in the party, any other black person, any other poor oppressed person in this entire country. We all should say fuck the pigs, fuck them. I say this because if they fuck with Chairman BOBBY, then they fuck with all black people.

"We understand that where we got a struggle there's sacrifices. Wherever there's a struggle there's sacrifices. But the only sacrifice that must be made in this struggle is the neck of the pig, the neck of the pig.

"I'd like to leave you with this last thought and just think about it. All poor oppressed people in the country, all poor oppressed people in the state, all poor oppressed people in the city of Winston-Salem and everybody in this auditorium,

consider this. It's a matter, it's a case of mind or matter. If the people don't mind then the pigs don't matter. All power to the people."

(The following comments were made by LARRY LITTLE.)

"Well, we're getting to the last speaker, the main speaker for this rally to come out and express the side that's being held, to express solidarity, the Black Panther Party, the local national committee. This next speaker, I've been telling you about how long we were waiting for him to get in, is Brother DARRUBA. This brother just got out of the pig pen about a month ago. He was in the New York Panther 21.

"And brothers, being just railroaded and like I said, the courts were just nothing but, these trials are nothing but a tactiment (phonetic) form of racism. Brother DARRUBA was busted because the pigsknew that he was very instrumental in trying to help awaken the people and to educate them to the strategic methods of resistance against this oppressive power structure. As I said, 21 party members were ripped off in New York.

"Just Thursday, Wednesday or Thursday, 18 members from the Baltimore Chapter of the Black Panther Party were ripped out. Thursday past, 18 members in the Baltimore Chapter of the Black Panther Party were ripped off, busted on jive-time charges. And we still got niggers talking about I'm trying to get my shit together.

"Well, this brother just spend a year in the pig pen subjected to all sorts of inhuman-like treatment. And brothers, you got to have a lot of respect for the brother because if he wasn't made out of the bone and if he wasn't armed with the teachings of the genius of the Minister of Defense, HUEY P. NEWTON or Chairman BOBBY SEALE, Brother ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, we don't know whether he would be right here. See, it's very easy for you to go to the pig pen and just get frightened out. The only thing I can say about Brother DARRUBA is, he's too revolutionarily, proletarianly intoxicated to become astronomically intimidated

by this racist American government. I don't know. I haven't been there yet. I know it will be any day. But like I said, sisters were railroaded and they tried to keep them from the other prisoners. The reason they are looking at some articles by Brother HUEY P. NEWTON, he's in prison serving fifteen years, forget about that two to fifteen years, serving fifteen years. They're upset because 95 per cent of the prisoners, black prisoners, he educated and they are now Panthers. They are now Panthers. So what they're trying to do is isolate brothers and sisters in another prison. A lot of them are just illegitimate prisoners and they deserve to be out because we say in number eight of our Ten-Point Program that they have not received a fair and impartial trial as supposed to be carried by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. As I said, the brother, I don't know what else to say about the brother, because I know for him to come out of that pig pen for over a year and to get out here and continue to speak out and act in a revolutionary manner against this racist, capitalist, imperialist, Fascist government, then he must really be a people's servant. He must really have his heart in the people.

"And so he's out-and-out, like I said, they jar him, but like they have to say it, you can jar a revolutionary but you can't jar the revolution. You can kill a revolutionary but you can't kill the revolution. Or you can run a freedom fighter, you can run a freedom fighter all over this country but you can't run freedom fighting all around this country. You dig?

"So here is the main speaker for this rally, I don't know brother, like I say he's just beautiful. The pigs, I'm surprised they let him get here all _____ (unintelligible) or get in the airplane. The FBI, it looked like there wasn't anything but pigs and Panthers on the plane, so this brother here just got in from New York to speak to you all. People's servant, revolutionary, Brother DARRUBA."

(The following speech was made by Brother DARRUBA.)

"Right on, right on, right on, right on, right on. Like I don't usually come South. I think the furthest South I've been is the South ferry (phonetic) in New York. But I see out here a whole lot of beautiful black young people. I even see some white mother country radicals sprinkled here and there. I see some . . . I see some brothers and sisters who are a little bit older, but they haven't fell for long-nose (phonetic) NIXON's generation gap. But they're here too.

"See, I think, I think that one of the first impressions I got when I got off the plane was how brown and how dark the soil was in North Carolina. And being born in Harlem, that is a mind blow to see very dark rich soil. And the first thing that hit my mind was why that soil is dark and rich. That soil is dark and rich because there was dark and rich blood that soaked it and made it into a fertile soil. And that blood and those tears was the blood and tears of millions of black people.

"So we're going to talk about that. We're going to talk about a system that thrives on sucking people's blood. A system where black people are forced to live in conditions that deny them all semblance of humanity, that denies them all outlets of self-creativity. We're going to talk about these racist dogs like, what's that fuck's name, BENTON, red-neck BENTON. We're going to talk about that flathead because I'd like to ride on him. I'd like a while on him. The blues gave me a word on him as soon as I came here and I jotted them down. I've got him with a line under his name. So I'm going to curse him out first. Because I know he's no good if his name is RAY and he's from the South.

"So, before we get to cursing out BENTON, I want all the brothers and sisters here to realize that as far as black people are concerned in a racist Babylon in twentieth century America, there's no difference between geographic positions. There's no difference between the North and there's no difference between the South. Ain't nothing changes but the address. And I think that once we make that basic fundamental realization, we can understand why a black person will get off a bus in Chitling Switch (phonetic), Georgia and the first thing he does is turn to the right hand of the dial on the radio to pick up on some soul music, because we know that niggers is always on the right hand of the dial. If you want to

know what's happening go to the right hand of the dial. (Next sentence unintelligible.)

"So I feel very much at home here. And the brothers were worrying about my safety and so forth and so on, fuck that, the pigs didn't care anything about my safety off in the Tombs in New York, and I figure if the people could wait here this long to hear me rap, I don't feel that any fool out there with a gun could scare me off from talking to you. So, I'm going to talk to you.

"But we have to really stop and do some real deep down thinking about these punks who walk in our faces and call themselves our mayors, call themselves our governors, and call themselves Senators and Congressmen and claim and allege to be leaders of us, whether they're black or whether they're white. I think what we have to start to do is get together like Malcolm said, behind some closed doors and start cursing each other out and coming out with some resolutions and with some concrete programs for action. And I think that at this particular important time we should realize as black people that being black is no longer sufficient. It no longer will get it. Because I think that Mitchell and Nixon and his prostitute-assed (phonetic) wife, I think that they are ready to concede black people their blackness. I think Mitchell has turned around and said to Thurgood Marshall and James Farmer, you're black, I'll concede that. Your hair is nappy (phonetic) and you wear a dashiki and you're black and I recognize that fact. So when we realize that when Nixon can get on TV and say what we need is black power, we have to re-evaluate our position and our stand.

"I think, I think what black people need most of all is to be able to define who are their friends and who are their enemies. I don't think we should allow the color of one's skin to get in the way of that. This is not to say our position and our stand is somehow compromised the relationship to our people. We feel that history has taught us that all oppressed people, whoever they are, will never succeed in their struggle for liberation and self-determination unless they accurately define their enemies and their friends.

"So, we're going to do a little definition tonight. We're going to do a little defining tonight. We're going to see that the Black Panther Party's position is very clear. We oppose pork chop nationalism, dashiki liberation. We oppose that because a dashiki can't stop a 357 from one of these racist state troopers. Afros, afros, won't keep our door closed when the pigs decided to kick it in. Only sand bags and fortification will and some guns to back that up.

"So, we're saying that the paramount issue before black people now is the issue of survival as a people. And if we cannot survive as a people, and if those people in the white mother country cannot relate to us surviving as a people, then we classify them as being pigs and we classify them as racists. We have no alternative because if they condone with their silence our murder and our oppression, they condone what's being done to us as black people by their silence. So, therefore, they condone the activities of pigs and they make the statement by their actions that we're not human and we don't deserve freedom, we don't deserve to protect our families and dogs out here.

"So fuck them, and if they come around our way, we're going to shoot them.

"I think, I think that keeping that in mind all those people in the white mother country who say that what's being done to the Black Panther Party and what's being done to black people in general by the Fascist regime in Washington, who say that they cannot condone that repression of murder on black people and the party and take active steps in the struggle against those forces of reaction, the struggle against these fools and idiots who oink in our faces and who will relate to picking up the gun and doing with it, we can say right on. Because we realize the essence of being black is not the color of one's skin. The essence of being black is whether we're revolutionary or not. That's the essence of being black.

"So we have come to a point in time where the situation demands that we put forth a policy, position, and a line that conforms with all the shit that we're up against. All the madness that the pigs are off into and trying to lead the people into.

"This demonstrates Fascism of Mitchell's and Agnew's preparing to inflict on us. And that position can be aptly stated, simply stated, as either or. Either we are for the liberation of our people and we in some degree and some manner actively try to forward that liberation, or we're content with our life and material possessions, we're content with our electronical slavery.

(At this point the tape skips for a few seconds, and another speaker is speaking.)

"Because we know how the man was going to, that he understood. Oh, we looked at our furniture in this lady's house, Miss _____ (unintelligible) house. Even the community helped put that in the house. And other ladies will do that if she stays in that home. I hope she don't mind my recognizing her. But it's people like, I don't know the lady's name, but she's in here, who make me keep fighting on, and that's this sister right here. Stand up sister.

"Those are the people that make me fight on. Those are the people. She don't have it, she's not hung up on all that philosophy and stuff like that. The lady just needed someplace to stay, so we said that she was going to stay right in that same house and if any pig came in and tried to throw the furniture out, we're going to blow their mother-fucking brains out.

"I know we got a few ministers in here. I tried to explain to a lot of them that I just can't stop from cursing, but like I say, they have to learn to understand that . . . (interrupted by someone in audience and clapping.) They have heard it before. They have heard it before. They probably curse, let me tell you, I bet they probably curse more than I do. I'm telling you. Right on. They curse more than I do. I mean like a lot of times when I tell them they're jiving around, they try to press me by just cursing, you know, cursing here and there. But when they get to me, they start talking to me, they have me thinking that I'm _____ (unintelligible) and they're the revolutionaries. That's the way they are. That's the way they are. They don't talk that stuff. They like to get to you in private. I want to see you for a minute, and just talk and talk. But they don't like to be seen with us

because they know that the pigs, they're taking sister NANCE, what was that, sister NANCE's picture of the FBI. The FBI was taking our sister's picture the other day. Not the other day, it was over a month ago, and they were walking downtown to sell papers. And they told her that they were taking their picture so they could identify the bodies. Now think about it. They told her they could identify the bodies. That's what they were telling them.

"So if we know that they are dealing with our sisters so the Black Panther Party doesn't practice male chauvinism. We treat our sisters as our other hand. At least we try to. I know we make quite a few mistakes, you know, but we understand that they are our other hand and the pigs, they would deal with them just as quick as they would deal with the brothers.

"So since you got a very good ear for listening, this might be the last, this is the only time I know you've really heard some revolutionary sound. And I don't know if you know what it means. But you're going to hear it now because you could always say that you heard something that's relevant. You heard something that's relevant.

(Darruba resumes speaking.)

"All the Mitchells and Agnews and Nixons and Bentons, we're going on with them and we'll accept their anti-poverty programs. We'll accept their job reforms programs, and we become part of the problem. We ought to become part of the solution. And we have to move against these fools and deal with them in a righteous manner.

"Now the only criticism that these fools and idiots could understand is not the criticism of words because niggers have been saying the same thing for 450 years. I don't think that they understand us. I don't believe that the pigs are capable of getting past that obstruction, that mental block, that they have concerning black people, and that being they think niggers are stupid. They think all niggers is fools. Niggers ain't got no sense and they can't think. Unless whitey teaches us how to do something, we don't know how to do it. Now, we don't want whitey to teach us anything and that's not being a racist. We don't want the oppressor and his culture to teach us anything because it has

taught the ultimate. It has taught us to hate ourselves. So we don't want to mess with that no more.

"We're saying that we have laid this position out very clearly, because we have in New York a situation where brothers are being railroaded through the courts and a fool like MURTAUGH can oink right in our faces can say you're going to get a fair trial, nigger, whether you want it or not. They say to us, why are you making all this noise and beating up the guards in court? Why are you doing this? Do we have to put you off in the bull pen with TV? And we said MURTAUGH we know your act. We know that you're a pig, not because you want it when you try to talk but because we have a brother who just got bailed out two days ago named LEE BARRY (phonetic).

"Let me tell you a little bit about LEE BARRY. LEE BARRY was in the Pigs and Imperialist Army. Now he contracted epilepsy. And while he was in the Veterans Administration Hospital in Brooklyn, on the morning of April 3, 1969, the Fascist dog pig police, of boss, which is the equivalent of mod squad in New York, the Bureau's secret service or special services, it may lean heavily to Man from Uncle and Disneyland. And they stormed into the hospital and dragged LEE BARRY out of his bed. They said you're a Panther, you're a nigger and you're a terrorist. And you are under arrest.

"He thought he was being treated for epilepsy, and he was on the critical list, he was on the critical list there in the Veterans Administration hospital. They took LEE BARRY to the Tombs, one of the most dispicable, one of the most hideous and barbaric institutions in New York City, and they put him in solitary confinement, and they put him on the springs with no mattresses and they didn't give him no blankets. And they threw him and locked him up in there for three months. Oh, he got out to take a shower.

"So LEE had three fits in there. He was beaten up twice by the guards. He was taken out of the hospital. He couldn't get out of jail because his bail was \$100,000. It wasn't bail, it was

random. So we say that LEE BARRY is a classic example of not what is done to a Black Panther, but what is done to black people because they would never do that to LEE if he wasn't black, and if he wasn't a revolutionary.

"So when we're looking for the _____ (unintelligible) we found that LEE BARRY is dying in that jail, sent him to the hospital, put him in the prison ward, but sent him to the hospital to give him the treatment that he needs because he's dying. Mumfugh said well the Department of Correction, which is the pig democracy that controls all institutions there, jails, he said that LEE BARRY is not sick enough, all the doctors there said that he was all right, that he didn't have to go to the hospital. It took us eight months to get LEE BARRY removed to the hospital.

"We went through all kinds of legal acrobatics and legal consultations, but we got LEE into the hospital. And it seems like the brothers still left him when he went into the hospital where he had a collapse. And the pigs in the average ghetto hospital, in the average prison ward, make experiments on black people every day. They use us for guinea pigs. That's what they tried to do with LEE and they diagnosed his condition as being infected kidney, an infected appendix, not an infected kidney, an infected appendix, and they removed a perfectly good appendix.

"The brother got progressively worse. His left leg was so swollen that he could not even lay down. They had to suspend him from traction. The brother had four operations and almost died. And the pigs finally after this said well, went out there in district court and said that LEE BARRY could not be present in court because they would have to bring him in on a stretcher. And he's on the critical list and the doctors don't think that he'll live. He's on that critical list because it took the courts, the racist courts, nine months to put LEE BARRY in the hospital to give him the treatment that any human being deserves.

"So we said to Mr. [unclear] you knew this. We put BRUCE (phonetic) and RICK (phonetic) in front of you. We had doctors beg you to examine him and you ignored them because he was a black man, he was a Panther. So we're saying to Mr. [unclear] that what was done to LEE BARRY was done to us. And when the shit is defined, we're going to take your mother-fucker head.

"I don't think that Mr. [unclear], I don't think that Mr. [unclear] recognizes the extent that black people will go to acquire their liberation and their freedom. We wrote him a document trying to tell him why we could not condone the procedures in this court and the document was approximately thirty pages long. We wrote him this document. We outlined the way, how the courts had distortedly upheld the racism that was afflicted on black people, had made and legalized the laws of the land to the extent that black people were not human and were animals. The laws of this land said that and we don't believe that we can get a fair trial in any court because it has as its guidelines the standards and laws of the racist ruling class. And so we can't get a fair trial. The only place we can get a fair trial is in Harlem with the people that come off the block, the mothers and fathers who are on welfare, the brothers and sisters who slave for a God damn \$35 a week. The people who are maids downtown on East 82nd Street. That's where our jury has got to come from because that's where we're from.

"So we say that unless that happens, that black people will not acquire any justice until we start to dig what we have to do. We start to dig what they're trying to do in New Haven to BOBBY SEALE and the Connecticut Nine. We start to see this is the most blatant and overt attempt to exterminate any leadership, any revolutionary leadership that black people have. It is an overt and blatant attempt to show the black people that you'll either remain a nigger or you'll die like BOBBY SEALE.

"So I put the question before you here. Will you remain a nigger or would you pick up the gun and rather die like BOBBY SEALE would die for your ass? That's what I want to know.

Remember if you cannot relate to freeing BOBBY SEALE and the Connecticut 9 and the New York 21, then you cannot relate to your own freedom because it's not BOBBY SEALE who is on trial. It's you.

"And I think if we all say to ourselves that although I may not be capable at this time to pick me up a gun and defend myself against these Fascist dogs who are trying to murder us, although I may not be capable of devoting my time to revolutionary struggle, although I may not be capable or in a position to do this now, I condone all black people, all third world people all over the world who pick up the gun and struggle against mother-fuckers like Nixon and punks like Mitchell. And they're the enemy of mankind.

"Black people struggle here in America is the most crucial and the most important struggle of any people on the face of this earth. You have to realize that, that we are saying that the youth, the black youth of this nation are confronted with a situation that no other people in history of mankind has ever been confronted with. And that is the situation that if they can overthrow the forces of reaction here in America, the whole world will move to a higher level, because two-thirds of the world is black.

"But we must realize that this is no easy task, this is no simple task. And it won't take no year, no two years, no five years, six years. It is a long protracted struggle. That is why it's the youth, black and white, who make the revolution and it's the youth who keep the revolution. So, we're saying that if your mother and father cannot actively pick up the gun and defend the rights and humanities of black people, then they should actively condone you picking up the gun and offing the pigs.

"And I think that that's very fundamental and that we have to relate this on a political level and say to ourselves that we are not going to let those racists rip off no more of our people.

That we're not going to let them electrocute us, railroad us in prison and that before we do that, you don't do but one thing that America doesn't want niggers to do, and that's dog in the street of Babylon. We'll go out there and we'll do the funkier thing on Mitchell's grave before we'll allow them to do that.

"I don't think, I don't think that those dried up, insipid crackers who sit up in the White House in their dusty halls and pass laws are capable of understanding the extent and the degree that black people will go to to stop that. I don't think they realize it, because the one thing that America cannot stand and the one thing they do not want is a race war. So, we're saying like, we don't want a race war either. But we're not going to sacrifice any more on an altar of inter-racial harmony the leaders of our struggle, and black people fuck that. We're not going to do it no more. And before we do that, we'll put before these pigs the consequence that they have claimed they did not want but they did everything in their damn power to bring about.

"We'll say to them, either free our people who are political prisoners in jail, we we'll institute a pirate nightmare from one end of Babylon to the other. And your national guards, your national guards, well weekend reactionaries, your part-time imperialists, and your regular army, your 82nd Airborne, and your Marine Corps, and your Special Forces, and your Air Force, your guided missiles, your atomic bombs, are all in left field and don't mean anything. You see, because you got niggers in the army, in the Special Forces, in the National Guard.

"And that is what every black man must stop to think about. And that is the issue of survival. And that issue of survival clings very crucially to the issue of whether we would allow the pigs to railroad us according to their laws or murder us in their jails. Whether we would allow that. So, if you're in the army, we're not saying come out of the army and join the Black Panther Party. We don't know if we ever took one that felt like that. Don't blow your cool. Stay in the army and off

your captain and your colonel and your generals, off him, off him because if you don't off him, if you don't off him, he'll be right here with the whole battalion and will off your mama and papa because they're niggers. And if he said to you that Nixon said to him, colonel we got a whole lot of niggers who are restless out in those ghettos tonight. Said, you take that 530 Battalion, and you go in there and you stop all that shit any way you feel is necessary. And he'll do that. He'll bring in your community M-16's. He'll bring in your community tanks and helicopter gunships and will shoot your mama down like she was a dog. If you don't believe he'll do it, you can dig what he has done in the past.

"So we're saying that it's a desirable condition, it's a desirable situation when the pigs will have to stand up to give orders and there will be brothers who will pull kamikazee on them, brothers who will become fanatics for their people and brothers who would break up in the seat and blow his brains out and say off the pig, jive mother-fucker, because . . . (rest is unintelligible due to applause).

"And don't think we ain't got no boys that will do that. We'd like to put a little system to this. We have to put a little of what the bloods down the street call a little finesse. We got to use a little bit of that street mentality that we possess, a little bit of that black experience and a little bit of that mojo on these folks. We got to put a little bit of blackness on them. Show them what it's all about when a nigger puts a wrench in the machinery of racism. Show them what it's all about if they want to persist.

"We have to get out here in these communities and we have to move on all levels to exterminate these faggots. We have our mamas and papas out there who may not understand what we're talking about, but if the pigs try to brutalize them there'll be some brothers like this here with guns to protect them. That's what we're talking about. And if every black man puts a gun in his home and has got sand bags in his house

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and takes the sand bags and dyes the sand bags in beautiful colors, and make it homely and make it look good. Make it a home. That's a desirable condition, that's a desirable condition because they're some black people, a family is in the house and these mad dogs that occupy our community decide to come in and shoot up the neighborhood, we'll have a little protection and our family might live. And that's desirable. And the sand bags are functional, and we can even identify them and paint flowers on them if you want to.

"So, there's a lot of niggers here who live in houses anyway instead of apartments, and sand bags are holding them up. So, that's a desirable condition and that's the way of survival of our people because we have brothers here who are going to set that example for you and show you how you can do that.

"And we don't ask the people as members of the Black Panther Party to do anything that we are afraid of doing ourselves. In fact, we'll set the examples and people can see what's happening. And that example was set in LA by the LA 18 because it took 500 police pigs and special squads and helicopters six hours just to get a lot of black people to come outside of the building. So you really should dig that and I want everybody to know why they came out. Because there was a trap. So if they was trapped the most logical thing to do was to dig a tunnel all the way to San Francisco and hold them up for six hours for this.

"So, that's a correct example that was set for black people because if anybody here has been to LA and talked to the brothers and sisters who live in the community and come off those streets, they'll tell you that when they came that morning, early in the wee hours of the morning to try to murder these brothers and sisters in their beds, they didn't just shoot up that office. They shot up the whole block. And there are brothers and sisters there who can tell you harrowing tales of how their children escaped death and ran out.

"So these gigs, these fools are insane. You see? And they're taking the orders, not from you. They took their orders from the racists who have all the money. They took the orders from fools like BENTON here and fools like Alister cut the line.

"So we start to dig, let the pigs pick up the gun and shoot us because of what we're trying to do, to acquire our freedom, is more profitable to them. So they pick up the guns for profit, and we have to pick up the gun to make it non-profitable for them to do it, to do it to us. Make them pay.

"So I think that if we understand all of this and could sit right down to that, our next move is not no spontaneous rebellion. That's all the pigs want. Our next move is to work with these brothers here to get control of the police and this whole army. Now by get control I mean that we have to start working 24 hours a day in some way, some manner, and some form that we would take the guns out of the hands of the police and put them in the hands of the people. We have to make the police start taking orders from the people instead of the people taking orders from the pigs.

"So we have a very functional program for that and that is what we call for want of a better name, community control of the Pigs. And how we go about this is that we take the basic principle that the police should live and come from the community he works in. That way, if he busts somebody, he tries to brutalize them, or busts somebody's child and tries to brutalize them, then everybody in the block will be sitting on the stoop waiting for him to come home at night from work. He won't do that. And if he comes from that community and he lives in that community, he understands what's happening in that community, he ain't going to let nobody sell no dope to his child. He ain't going to let nobody brutalize his children. He ain't going to let nobody oppress his people, and damn sure nobody is going to come in here and shoot up his family.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"So we have to start to realize this is very functional. We also should realize on the other hand the pigs are going to block that. They'll try to murder these brothers here for advocating that. And if we want to know, and he allows it, murder. Their only strength lies with you and the community and their only desire is to serve you and to make that community something that we could be proud of and something that we could say, look mother-fucker, that _____ (unintelligible) standing on the corner here in Winston-Salem with the police around him is a big comfort here in Winston-Salem and if you come here and try to bust him, he'll kick your ass. But this is our community and that man has done nothing to harm you. That man has done nothing to harm us. So what are you talking about, he's under arrest? For what?

"This is what we have to start to think about that we don't have to worry any more about the pigs whipping us all, taking us out of our community, telling us what we're supposed to do, and what we can't do, and how we should do it. The only ones that can tell black people how they can acquire their freedom are black people.

"I know you can't make it. You're lucky if you can get \$50 up to pay the God damn landlord. So, it's obvious what position he's taking, so we have to say to him you no longer represent us. You're not black and you're not for the liberation of our people. What you are for is the reforming of our oppression. What you are for is a brand-new system of twentieth century slavery for us. Because any brother out here who has lived those streets, any brother or sister here who is grown up, knows that you don't sit down and play cards with somebody who's dealing with a marked deck, a marked deck. What the hell do you want to do playing a game of coup with this man here who has marked the deck? Every time you look around you're losing. So we've got to stop asking for a reshuffle of the same marked deck. We want a brand-new deck of cards.

"So that tells you, that tells you where ~~THOMAS~~ MARSHALL's at. He's telling us that we should accept the reshuffled old deck that NIXON is all right, and that what NIXON is talking about is all right. It's just we don't understand. He's just as bad as the racists talking about, he's stupid. Anybody in their right mind could see that MITCHELL is afraid when he indicts BOBBY SEALE and the Connecticut Nine for that ridiculous shit when he indicts the Chicago Eight for what he indicted them for. We cannot allow ourselves to be divided among the issue of whether a brother is too militant or whether he's too pacifist. That is now what we're talking about. People can get up here and rap all day. What matters is what he does.

"So maybe MARSHALL could sit up here and talk about the liberation of black people, but what he does is he doesn't do. So I don't think we can accept any more of the ~~spokesmen~~ spokesmen of the racist ruling class. But we're going to have to make a fundamental understanding that in any society if you go all the way back to that faggot ALEXANDER. In any society that man is part of the laws, the standards, the ideals, the goals for all the people of society are necessarily the standards and ideals of the ruling class made into the law for everybody. So when they put up a \$100,000 bail for you, it's because \$100,000 is worth more than your freedom. Because you as a human being do not possess what money as a piece of paper possesses, and that's freedom, individuality, independence. Because if you possessed it you wouldn't have to acquire money, in order to get it. You wouldn't have, you would have to be up in this neon rat race, electrical dream, see.

"I think we're going to have to start printing our own money. Fuck you. The racists aren't going to give it to us. So it's your duty to get a few fat dinks here who have printing presses to start printing our own money. And when we go up to the racists with a whole stack of suitcases full of bills and say give me all them cars and tanks over there, and he says what are you paying for them, and you say cash. I know what he's going to say to you. He's going to say nigger, look at the \$100 and \$50 bills. You ain't never seen no \$50 bills. How did you get that? Some old blood who is high on some juice

he had a \$50 coat on and gave you a \$100 bill. He asked if that is good. It's as good as yours. It looks just like yours. What are you talking about it isn't worth ten cents? He's crazy if he tells you that your money that you made and looks just like his is worth less than his because his will burn just like yours would. And if his would burn just as you have, he can't possibly tell you that you can't spend it. What power does he possess to say that your money is no good but mine is good? And so I think that's a desirable condition. I think we should work towards that. And we should print our own money and then when a sister is hungry in the streets and she needs money to feed her family, she can have somebody to go to in the black community and there'll be a Black Panther Party there to say sister, you don't have to be hungry here in our community because we feed our own.

"I don't think the pigs can relate to that and they'll come into the community and try to whip off the printing presses, so you can't get that money. So what we should do, we can't print it, the pigs don't want to give it to us, so that we can build a better society for our people, then we have to do like BOBBY said. We have to go down to Washington with some 357's in our hands and tell that punk in the White House that it's a stick-up. Take it all.

"And then, and then he's going to say to us, what is it you want? We are trying to integrate you into society. You now have five niggers on Wall Street. Five years ago you only had one. That's progress. You now have you own airline hostesses on American Airlines and they're allowed to wear Afros. You're making progress. He'll tell you that you have the _____ (unintelligible) poverty program going here and all these people who are in the black community, and this is usually the endorsed spokesman, the nigger opportunist, who makes money off of our misery. He takes you to the community talking about look here what we accomplished. We have a vest pocket playground. And while he's doing this he's telling the dope _____, excuse me (rest of sentence unintelligible).

"We don't think we're making no progress. In fact, we think we're getting progressively worse. So when the fool that Moynihan, can say just niggers needs is benign neglect. We realize what Moynihan needs. We know what Moynihan needs. See Moynihan has never had what we call the old, the good . . . (rest of sentence unintelligible). That's what we need. I don't know what you call it here. What's the name right here? That's what it is, let us do _____ (unintelligible) with it. That's what we need. (Next sentence unintelligible).

"So we don't think that there's any point of departure between the revolutionary forces here in America and as manifested in black people and progressive white people, revolutionary white people who are willing to take the step and not attack the symbols of racism and Fascism but attack the racists and Fascists, start killing them. Because it's not a building that has black people locked in the delapidated houses. It's not a building that has black people being murdered by police. It is the landlords and the pigs who do that and institute those programs. So we don't have to start blowing up a jail, start blowing up a pig. You see?

"So we don't feel there's any point of departure between the struggle here of black people and the struggle of over two-thirds of the world's population. We can understand and relate to the struggle of the North Vietnamese, the struggle of all the Vietnamese people against the same enemy who we're struggling against. Because when the pig, and none of us don't want to hear that, because we might have brothers and sisters who are over in Vietnam, but I'm, right on, I'm come here to tell you that you are _____ (unintelligible), I'm come to tell you exactly. So we have people over in Vietnam kicking in the doors and huts of the Vietnamese people and dragging them out in the night and beating them and taking their sons away and putting them into concentration camps. They have the relatively same situation as here. When the pigs are coming into our community and murdered FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK. (rest unintelligible) And when they

can go on search and destroy missions and just whip us all, you know. And maybe even checking out down to the minutest detail down to the smallest detail, we see even the equipment they use is the same. The only difference is the uniforms here is blue, brown, beige, uniforms over there are green.

"So we have close range with those people over there in Vietnam and whenever they deliver a blow, whenever they deliver a blow against these Fascists here in Washington, whenever they bring about a situation like Khe Son, we have to bring about a similar situation here in Babylon. We have to bring about a similar situation here and they should have to look all over the world, in Korea, in Cambodia, in Laos, in Africa, in Latin America, and everywhere they look they see niggers with guns after them. And we don't feel that them pigs are that bad that they could fight everybody in the world and fight us too. I don't know. I don't know nobody that bad.

"And now that Mao Tse Tung launched a satellite and it's in orbit. Nobody knows what he's got stashed on the side. Everybody knows you don't play all your cards at one time anyway. You see? So, Mao is saying that right on, this 500, 700, 900 now, 800, 800 million Chinese. We are 800 million strong and we have the bombs and the missiles. You're 200 million strong and you got bombs and missiles too. More than enough to destroy the whole world. And what we're hearing here, that they have bombs and missiles and guns but that atomic bomb is nullified (phonetic), is counterfeited, but they're going to drop it on us. They could drop it on themselves and (rest of sentence unintelligible). So, we're saying to Mao and we're saying comrade Mao Tse Tung. He told the people of the world it's just a matter of time until his birthday, when his 61st birthday shows up. It's just a matter of time and he's going to advance on South Korea and he's going to kick these Yankees in the rump. And I say to that, that not only should we indulge that, we should institute a program so that all the Yankees in the world will be swimming.

Ah, Tucker, the chief of pigs and he's head hog, Tucker. I see that you have the same problem that we have. You need a barbecue here in Winston-Salem. You know, we meet, we meet, we meet with a lot of problems who come from this area. Up in Harlem, we have a lot of people who come from this area to Harlem and the _____ (unintelligible) be on the block and they call it down home barbecue. I could imagine how you do it up down here because if you got these many pigs you got roasting going on for days. So, anytime you have a barbecue going on don't fail to invite us because we dig roast pigs just as well as you do. So, I'm going to close up now.

"I know you have been sitting here a very long time. And it goes to show how enthusiastic you are and we hope we can put this enthusiasm into some concrete action and get out here in the community and create a tight situation that would free us from this oppression. All power to the people.

"I want to tell you something that I forgot to tell you. I just stuck in on the pad. I don't know how many black students are here, but we're giving a student's conference in New Haven, Connecticut starting the sixteenth of May to the nineteenth, which is Malcolm's birthday. And this is going to be so that black students for the Black Panther Party and the black community can get a unity of will of what we're going to do if these Fascists try to railroad these brothers in New York and try to murder the Connecticut Nine. And our position, the Black Panther Party, is very clear on that issue, that we will go it alone if necessary to cut loose all 28 chapters of the Black Panther Party in the streets of Babylon, and there won't be no life here today.

"So, we want you there, we want you to come and if you can get a bus, if you have to rent a bus coming from here to there, we want you to come because we want everybody to be there and we can hook something that will show these pigs that we ain't jiving. Power to the people."

"So, I feel that it's just a matter of time before the proverbial shit is to fall, before these racists realize that man and land does not struggle for freedom and that the man has never struggled for freedom, but he has struggled against the freedom of the pigs who try to do what they want to do to people. And once they start to realize that there's nothing that we want to do to acquire the power to determine our own destiny, once they realize what we're talking about, and only when they realize that is at the end of a gun. Because it's the gun that stops you in the final analysis from doing what you want to do as a human being. It's a gun in this society that negates you and denies you your own humanity.

"It's the gun that perpetuates you living off in these _____ (unintelligible) up houses, and have to beg these racists for some food. And got to work on your knees twelve hours a day so his _____ (unintelligible) can be clean. You see, and it's the gun that stops you from doing anything to change that condition. And we feel that it's the gun that will move man and the whole world to higher levels. Because only with the gun can we oppose the guns of the racists and the dogs who do what they do.

"We feel that we're at advantage, in advantageous position, because we're likely to be part and parcel of the third war, and we happen to have solidarity with the Latin American people who are struggling against Rockefeller, who are struggling against DuPont and the whole struggle is the same all over the world. It's poor against the rich. It's have-nots against the haves. It's the oppressed class against the oppressor class, and it's black people and people of color against the racist whites. It's as simple as that. So we don't feel there's anything more to talk about.

"I am very overjoyed and happy to come down here to talk to you tonight and I hope that when we leave here that in the very near future we can see a little more unity of action in the whole Winston-Salem community and that we can see black people moving in all matters, in all matters except bootlicking, to get rid of the racist pinkies (phonetic) and reds, Bentons, and who's some other racists around here? I want to curse them out in here.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere "

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

5-26-70

Airtel

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

AC 19] 105-165706-8-196

To: SAC, Charlotte

From: Director, FBI

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

Enclosed are two copies Department of Army letter dated 5-13-70 with enclosures together with two copies Army "Spot Report," undated

Immediately institute investigation to identify alleged civilian Black Panther Party members involved in activities at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, as set forth in enclosures. Investigation should be aimed at fully identifying individuals as well as scope and objectives of their activities at Ft. Bragg. Handle promptly and furnish Bureau results of investigation under appropriate caption.

Enclosures - 4

HEH:bad (4)

NOTE:

Department of Army has furnished reports indicating at least four Black Panther Party members have been active recently at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, attempting to arrange meetings, distribute literature and induce black soldiers to join BPP.



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55 JUN 15 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) Army, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-196 enclosure

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: MAY 20 1970

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) BUREAU RM

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

1 - SF

1--(157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

REC-89

REC-89

105-165706-8-195

59 JUN 9 1970

(5cc)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

#2 4:33p wbf ic

MAY 7 1970

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED] is calling from Winston-Salem to let him know that they are moving into the new headquarters and their number will be 722-4097.

[REDACTED] says that there is a brown skinned brother 6 foot named ANTHONY CAIN there who says that he functioned with the party in Brooklyn. [REDACTED] checks with someone here who is from New York. The guy says that CAIN did not function with the party but that his brother ALFRED CAIN, [REDACTED] was kicked out of the party. [REDACTED] says to treat him as a member of the community only.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 21 1970

TELETYPE


Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PLAIN
11:57 PM URGENT 5/21/70 JAB

TO DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8
(ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)
AND NEW YORK
FROM CHARLOTTE 157-6171

BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RACIAL MATTERS.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TODAY.

 CHARLOTTE, CONFIRMED
INFORMATION AS SET FORTH BY NY T SIXTY SIX, ROBERT BEY AND
BRAD BREWER HELD RESERVATIONS NEW YORK TO CHARLOTTE AND RETURNED
TODAY.

NO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM CHARLOTTE SOURCES OF SUBJECT'S
INTENDED TRAVEL.

NEW YORK AT NEW YORK, RECONTACT NY T SIXTYSIX AND OTHER
APPROPRIATE INFORMANTS AND ADVISE REASON FOR TRAVEL.

CHARLOTTE WILL CONTACT APPROPRIATE INFORMANTS.

END.

REC-22

105-165706-8-194

17 MAY 28 1970

58 JUN 9 1970
RECEIVED FBI WASH DC FOR CE 008

CLP